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ABSTRACT

Teachers in low socioeconomic status minority schools face some special problems in establishing productive learning climates within their classrooms. The beginning of the school year can be crucial to teaching success in these schools. Case studies are presented of three different teachers teaching in a single low socioeconomic, minority junior high. Comparison is made of classroom activities, organizational strategies, and student behavior in the classrooms of three teachers of varying managerial effectiveness. Concrete illustrations are provided of some beginning-of-school teaching strategies which appear to work in such a setting. The teachers were observed in the opening days of school and six times throughout the year. It was concluded from these observations that what teachers do to establish a productive classroom climate and to orient students in the first few days of school is an important determinant of classroom management and teaching success in junior high school. However, without continuing, consistent enforcement of the rules and behavior standards set in the first days, a productive classroom climate may deteriorate rapidly. (JD)

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Beginning the School Year at a Low SES Junior High: Three Case Studies

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Beginning the School Year at a Low SES Junior High: Three Case Studies

In the Junior High Classroom Organization Study, observations were made in every junior high in a large city, providing wide variation in neighborhood socio-economic level, students' cultural backgrounds, and school climates and histories. Our experiences during the study supported the assumptions that teachers in low socio-economic status (SES) minority schools face some special problems in establishing productive learning climates within their classrooms and that the beginning of the school year can be crucial to teaching success in these schools.

This paper presents case studies of classrooms of three different teachers teaching in a single low SES minority junior high. Data were drawn from detailed classroom narratives and process-product measures taken in the JHCOS. The purpose of the paper is to first, compare classroom activities, organizational strategies and student behavior in classrooms of three teachers of varying managerial effectiveness within the same school, and second, to provide concrete illustrations of some beginning-of-school teaching strategies which appear to work in such a setting.

Moskowitz and Hayman (1976) investigated teaching strategies of teachers in an inner city junior high school. Their report cites the dearth of empirical classroom data from inner city junior high schools and discusses the differences they found between teaching behaviors of new teachers and "best" teachers (as identified by student poll) in such a setting. They observed teachers the first day of school and six times

throughout the year, using an interaction analysis instrument and limited anecdotal records. The greatest differences they found between new and best teachers were in the setting of expectations and establishment of control at the beginning of the school year, academic reinforcement, and behavior control. Many of their findings, especially those relating to orienting and climate setting behaviors, were consistent with findings from elementary school studies (Emmer, Evertson & Anderson, in press; Evertson & Anderson, 1979; Anderson & Evertson, Note 1) indicating the importance of effective management and instructional organization at the very beginning of the school year.

Methods and Data Sources

The research design and methodology of the JHCOS are presented in detail in the full report (Evertson, Emmer, & Clements, Note 2). Only the highlights will be outlined here.

The sample consisted of 51 seventh- and eighth-grade teachers who were observed in two class sections extensively during the first three weeks of school and, less frequently, throughout the remainder of the school year. In addition to a number of high- and low-inference ratings and measures of pupil engagement, time use, and teacher practices and characteristics, observers recorded detailed descriptions of all classroom interactions. The identification of more and less effective teachers was made using both process and product data: counts of students on and off task, measures of disruptive behavior in classes, class mean residual achievement gains, and pupil attitudes toward their teachers.

For this paper, the various process and product measures for all of the participating teachers at a low SES minority school were analyzed

and compared. On the basis of these comparisons, three teachers were selected for case studies of their classrooms: one very effective teacher (i.e., a teacher whose scores were high on all the process and product measures we used); one less effective teacher; and one who appeared to be successful at the beginning of the year, but in whose class management and discipline problems soon escalated. In an effort to trace the genesis of each of the three teachers' success or difficulties we studied the detailed narratives of observed class meetings. Activity summaries were prepared for six or seven narratives taken of one class of each teacher in the first three weeks of school. In each class, we used the class section for which we had a first day narrative. Narratives and classroom process measures for observations in the rest of the year were also examined to note changes in classroom climate or teachers' and students' behavior.

Description of the School

The junior high school in which all three teachers taught was located in a low socio-economic, urban, minority neighborhood. The school population was predominantly Hispanic. Much of the area served by the school could be properly termed the barrio. About ten percent of the students were Black; a small percentage were Anglo. Many of the students were handicapped by many of the problems associated with urban poverty: poor language ability, frequently unstable or nonsupportive family environments, low achievement expectations, irregular attendance, and poor study skills or habits. The modern brick building housing the school was designed with very few windows. During the year of the study, a frequently-broken air conditioner, inefficient air circulation system, and thin portable partitions separating some classrooms were

some of the constraints some teachers had to deal with. Several portable classroom buildings provided additional class space.

The faculty of the school consisted predominantly of young teachers and appeared to include more very inexperienced teachers than did faculties of other schools in the study. The faculty, administration, and counseling staff were racially integrated but predominantly Anglo. Teachers who chose to continue teaching at the school were, in general, committed to serving the population of the school. The turnover rate for teachers at the school was relatively high, however, and the faculty did not show a high degree of cohesiveness or intercooperation. The principal was in his first year at the school.

Under the community structure used at the school, teachers in different academic areas shared the same group of students and had their conference periods at the same times. Teachers interviewed indicated varying amounts of success with this organizational structure, however. Not all teachers chose to participate fully. At least one community adopted some uniform rules for students in the year of the study.

In comparison with other junior highs in our study the climate of the school was somewhat permissive. Rules against tardiness were not strictly enforced in some classes, and many teachers were liberal in allowing students to leave the room for trips to restrooms, water fountains, or lockers during classes. Abusive language among students, absenteeism, and disturbances or fights in halls and classrooms were problems shared with many other urban junior high schools.

The Case-study Teachers and Classes

In this paper some details of teacher and class descriptions will be avoided in order to protect the anonymity of our subjects. All three

of the case-study teachers (whom we shall call Teachers A, B, and C) had previous teaching experience at the school. Teacher B was the least experienced, with one year prior experience at the school and several at another school. All three taught seventh- or eighth-grade English or math classes.

Teacher A's class was held in a portable building. The room was comfortable, although the air conditioner in the room was sometimes noisy. There were 19 students in the class. The mean entering California Achievement Test score for the class was 10 raw score points below grade level, but there was a wide span of students' achievement levels, with entering achievement scores ranging from grade levels 2.6 to 9.8.

In Teacher B's class of 22 students the class mean entering achievement score was 13 raw score points below grade level. Students ranged from grade levels 2.1 to 6.8 in entering achievement. Teacher B's classroom in the main building of the school was often uncomfortable during the year of the study, because of a faulty air conditioning system. The spacious classroom was separated from another by a movable partition which did not effectively screen out noise.

Teacher C's class included 23 students ranging in entering achievement from grade levels 3.4 to 7.0. The mean entering CAT was 11 raw score points below grade level. Her classroom, like Teacher B's, was sometimes uncomfortably warm and poorly ventilated.

Results and Discussion

The classrooms of Teachers A, B, and C were compared using the following product and process measures: mean class achievement gains adjusted for entering ability (residual gain scores), student ratings of

the teacher, average percentage of students on task, and observer ratings of frequency of inappropriate and disruptive behavior in classes.

Residual Gains

Residual achievement gain scores were based on students' performance on a specially prepared subject area achievement test. Scores were adjusted to allow for differences in entering achievement levels. The resulting residual gain scores were averaged for each class to provide a measure of teaching effectiveness in terms of student achievement.

Table 1 shows the mean class residual scores for each of the three classes. Teacher A's class mean residual gain was .346, or about a third of a standard deviation above the expected value based on entering achievement scores. Seventy-five percent of Teacher A's class achieved at or above expected levels. Individual scores indicated that Teacher A was equally successful with her lower, medium, and higher ability students in her rather heterogeneous class.

Table 1

Mean Residual Gains and Student Ratings in Three Teachers' Classes

	Mean Residual Achievement Gain	Mean Student Rating of the Teacher
Teacher A	.346	58.00
Teacher B	.024	56.25
Teacher C	.027	61.92
Mean for all JHCOS Classes	0.000	60.91

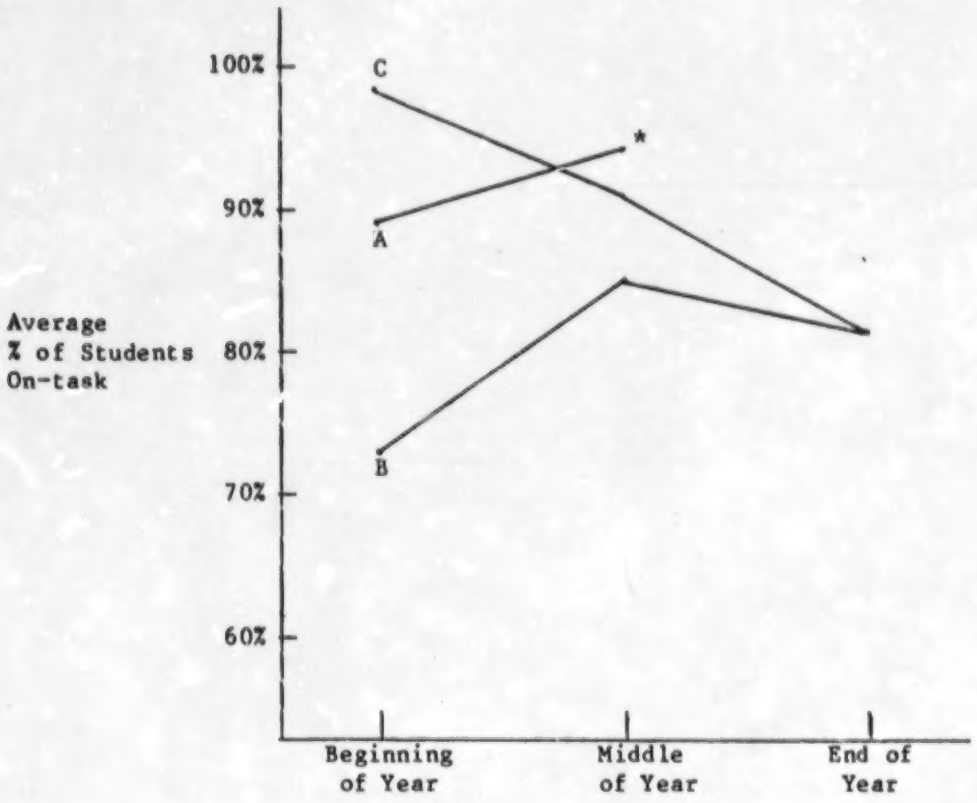
Mean residual gain scores for Teacher B's and Teacher C's classes were similar, both very close to the expected gain for the class. Of Teacher B's class, 69% achieved at or above expected levels, compared to 76% of Teacher C's class.

Student Ratings of the Teachers (SRT)

At the end of the year, students responded to a 17-item instrument, rating their teacher and class. The resulting "general liking of the teacher" score was used as an affective measure of teachers' effectiveness. Table 1 shows that Teacher C was the best liked of the three teachers under consideration, but scores were not greatly different for the three teachers, and all were near the mean for all teachers in the study. Teacher B had the lowest SRT of the three teachers.

Percent of Students On Task

Every 15 minutes during classroom observations, observers completed Student Engagement Ratings (SERs) recording the number of students on task (i.e., doing what they were supposed to be doing) and in other engagement categories. One measure resulting from these Student Engagement Ratings was the mean percent of students on task for each observation. Figure 1 shows the mean percentages of students on task for Classes A, B, and C, from observations during three different periods of the year. Scores for the first three weeks were generally based on five observations (up to 20 SERs). Scores for mid-year and end-of-year periods were based on four observations (up to 16 SER's) each. No data were available for Teacher A's class for the end of the year because a student teacher took over the class.



Mean Percentage of Students On-task

	Beginning of Year	Middle of Year	End of Year
Teacher A	89%	94%	*
Teacher B	73%	85%	81%
Teacher C	98%	91%	81%

Figure 1. Comparison of Average Percent of Students On-task in Three Teachers' Classes. (*No data are available for Teacher A, End of Year, because Student Teacher took over class.)

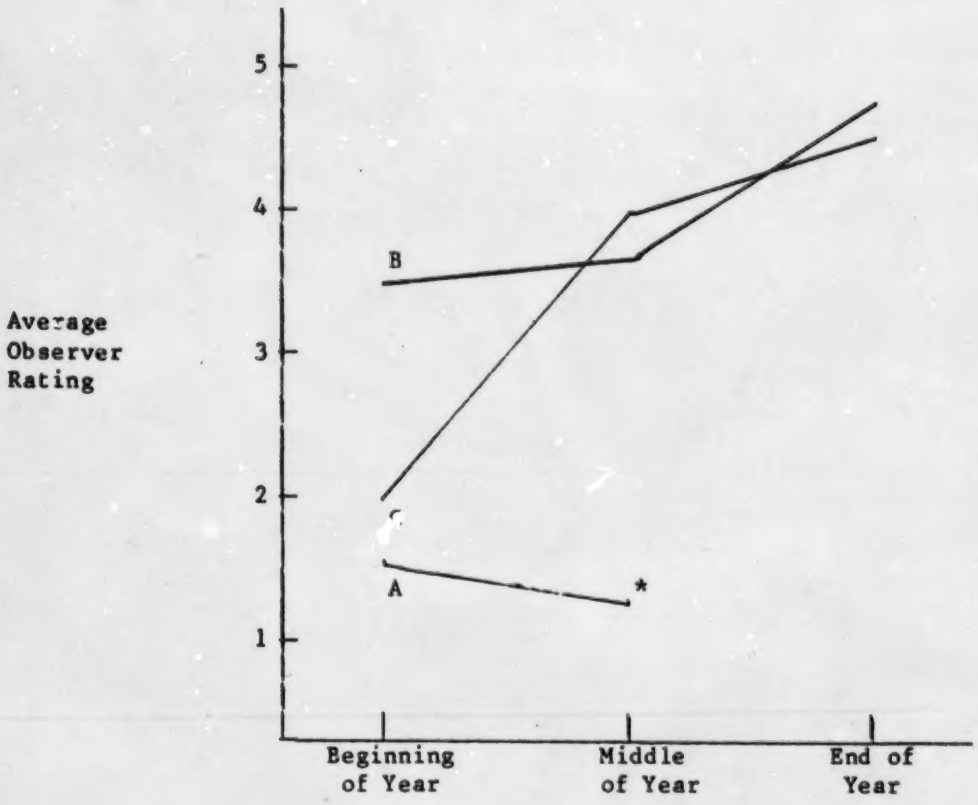
Teacher C's students-on-task figure was initially most impressive, at an average of 98%. This figure declined to 91%, then 81% by the end of the year. Teacher A had an average of 89% of students on task during SERs in the first three weeks, increasing to 94% later in the year. Teacher B's averages were lower: 73% during the first three weeks. During the five observations in the first three weeks, on the average, 27% of Teacher B's students were not doing what they were supposed to be doing, either academically or procedurally, when SER's were taken.

Inappropriate and Disruptive Behavior

After each observation, observers rated the amount of disruptive behavior and the amount of inappropriate behavior during the class. A rating of 1 indicated no disruptive or no inappropriate behavior, a rating of 5 indicated a high degree of frequency.

Figure 2 shows the inappropriate behavior ratings in Classes A, B, and C. Teacher B had a higher rate of inappropriate behavior than either Teacher A or C during the first three weeks and at the end of the year. Teacher A's class had very little inappropriate behavior at the beginning and at mid-year. (While figures for Teacher A's class are missing because a student teacher took over the class, it is safe to assume that her scores would have remained lower than those of Teacher B or Teacher C. The end-of-year average inappropriate behavior ratings for Teacher A's other observed section was 1.33.) Teacher C's class began the year with little inappropriate behavior, but inappropriate behavior increased greatly by mid-year, even exceeding that in Teachers B's class.

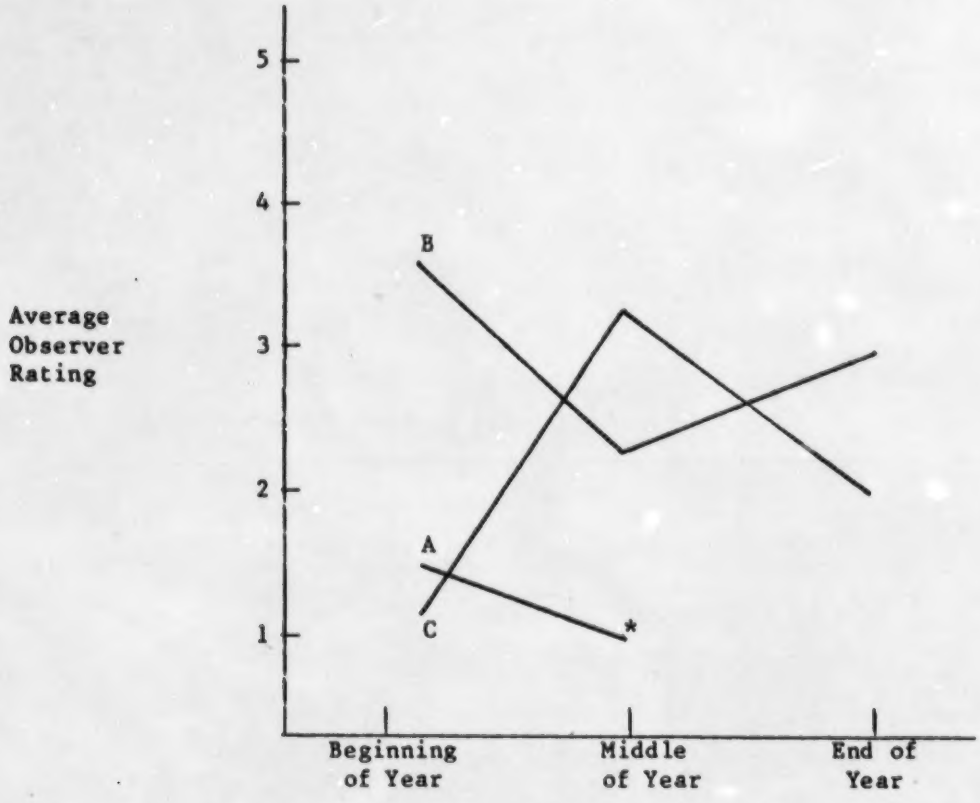
Figure 3 shows disruptive behavior ratings for the three classes. Teacher A's class had virtually no disruptive behavior by mid-year.



Mean Inappropriate Behavior Ratings

	Beginning of Year	Middle of Year	End of Year
Teacher A	1.50	1.25	*
Teacher B	3.50	3.67	4.75
Teacher C	2.00	4.00	4.50

Figure 2. Comparison of Inappropriate Behavior Ratings in Three Teachers' Classes. (*No data are available for Teacher A, End of Year, because Student Teacher took over class.)



Mean Disruptive Behavior Ratings

	Beginning of Year	Middle of Year	End of Year
Teacher A	1.50	1.00	*
Teacher B	3.67	2.33	3.00
Teacher C	1.17	3.33	2.00

Figure 3. Comparison of Disruptive Behavior Ratings in Three Teachers' Classes. (*No data are available for Teacher A, End of Year, because Student Teacher took over class.)

(The end-of-year figures in her other section was 1.33.) Teacher B's class began badly: A 3.67 average disruptive behavior rating indicated that unruly student behavior frequently interfered with work of the class. Disruptive behavior in Class B improved during mid-year, but rose again at the end of the year. In Teacher C's class, in contrast, disruptive behavior ratings were extremely low at the beginning of the year, but increased markedly at mid-year, tapering at the end of the year.

Product and process measures reported for Classes A, B, and C suggest very different patterns of student behavior. Teacher A succeeded in getting high levels of cooperation early in the year and (as far as we know) maintained high levels throughout the year. Teacher B had management problems from the first day of school. Teacher C had a very good start, but was unable to maintain a high level of student cooperation. Analysis of classroom narratives resulted in comparative descriptions of the three classes in terms of a) first day activities, b) eight aspects of teachers' and students' behaviors during the first three weeks of school, and c) changes in classroom behaviors after the first three weeks.

First Day Activities

Table 2 summarizes the first day activities in Teacher A's, Teacher B's, and Teacher C's classes. Several observations can be made based only on these outlines. Teacher A spent more time (21 minutes) discussing class rules and procedures than did either of the other two teachers. Both Teacher A and Teacher C gave their students some seatwork the first day. Narratives show that both assignments were easy, assuring students of some initial success in the class. In the

Table 2

First Day Activities in Three

Junior High School Teachers' Classes

Teacher A		Teacher B		Teacher C	
Introduction of teacher and roll call	5 minutes	Filling out information cards and roll call	9 minutes	Introduction of teacher and roll call	2 minutes
Presentation of rules and procedures	21 minutes	Presentation of rules and supply requirements	8 minutes	Presentation of rules and procedures	12 minutes
Election of class officers	2 minutes	Diagnostic test	21 minutes	Filling out information cards	7 minutes
Preview of week's activities	7 minutes	Oral review of rules and supply requirements	2 minutes	Seatwork	33 minutes
Seatwork	18 minutes	Free time: students talking or waiting	16 minutes		
Closing	1 minute				

case of Teacher C's class the relatively long seatwork period served double duty. While students worked at their desks, the teacher had a brief private chat with each one while she measured his or her height for a future class activity. Thus each student had some private contact with the teacher the first day. The teacher positioned herself so that she could monitor the whole class while she worked with individuals at one station.

Teacher B's presentation of rules and procedures was the shortest of the three teachers. She spent 21 minutes of the first day in diagnostic testing, which the other two teachers postponed until later the first week. Sixteen minutes of Teacher B's first class was deadtime, during which the Teacher was not leading the class in any activity.

Students in Teacher A's and Teacher C's classes were cooperative, orderly, and quiet during the first class meeting. In contrast there was a lot of inappropriate and disruptive behavior in Teacher B's first class, mostly attributable to a group of unruly boys. Teacher B ignored some of the inappropriate behavior, including talk, giggles, and cheating during the diagnostic test. At other times she reprimanded and threatened ineffectively. By the end of the class period she had failed to establish herself as a credible leader and manager. Although she presented rules and requirements of the class, standards and guidelines governing some of the most important aspects of class routine were absent or vaguely stated. Furthermore, her passivity and inconsistency in the face of numerous infringements of rules, students' disregard for her directions, and inappropriate behavior during the class period undermined her credibility. Little was done or said to establish a

serious task orientation in the class or to convince students they would be held accountable for their work or their behavior. The teacher's attention was monopolized by a small group of students to the extent that the concerns of most of the class members were not addressed.

The First Three Weeks

When narratives and narrative summaries of Classes A, B, and C were analyzed and compared, a number of different patterns in teachers' organization and management strategies were found. These will be discussed in terms of eight categories of classroom behaviors which are summarized in Table 3.

1. Teaching rules and procedures. As has already been noted, Teacher A spent more time presenting rules and procedures to her class the first day than did either of the other teachers. There were also differences in the amount of time devoted to orienting students in the following days and weeks. In the case of Teachers B and C, very little time was devoted to discussion of rules and procedures after the first day. Teacher B did remind students of the procedures they were to follow when they entered class, and she did follow up on some supply requirements she had announced. Teacher C made little mention of rules and procedures after the first day, other than brief and sporadic reminders. In sharp contrast, Teacher A devoted some time almost every day to presentation, review, or discussion of the procedures and rules she wanted her students to follow in her class. Table 4 describes the orientation and rule-setting activities Teacher A included in the first five class periods observed in the first three weeks of school. She devoted about 90 minutes of class time to such instruction during five observed 55-minute class periods. Orientation and rule setting

Table 3

Classroom Management Strategies of Three Teachers

Area	Teacher A	Teacher B	Teacher C
Rules and Procedures	21-minute presentation Day 1 Significant portions of class time devoted to discussions and review throughout the first three weeks All important areas of class activity covered	10-minute presentation Day 1 Brief reminders thereafter limited to two areas of concern Relatively few important areas of classroom activity covered	12-minute presentation and discussion Day 1 Sporadic reminders thereafter Most important areas of classroom activity covered
Enforcement and Feedback	Consistent enforcement of rules and consistent feedback to students	Inconsistent enforcement; erratic feedback, lots of ignoring	Poor enforcement of most rules and procedures; good enforcement of a few
Clarity	Clear directions and instruction No student confusion	Directions and instruction not very clear Lots of student confusion	Clear directions and instruction No student confusion
Knowledge of Students	Good understanding of students Students experienced early success	Seemed to be out-of-touch with students, often unaware of their academic level Students experienced little success	Excellent understanding of students Students experienced early success
Accountability for Work	Students held accountable for daily work Little avoidance allowed to persist	Poor accountability systems Persistent student avoidance of work	Students held accountable for daily work Little avoidance allowed to persist

Table 3-Continued

Area	Teacher A	Teacher B	Teacher C
Time Use and Class Routines	Instructional activities filled class time Established opening-class routine	Frequent free time periods Opening-class routine poorly established; no dismissal	Instructional activities filled class time No opening routine; established closing and dismissal routines
Behavioral Standards	Set relatively high standards: quiet talk; good task orientation; few students out-of-seat or out of the room; few unsolicited call outs; few tardy students	Low standards: constant talk; frequently poor task orientation; students frequently out-of-seat and out of the room; many unsolicited call outs; few tardies initially	Failed to maintain high standards: increasing amounts of student talk; generally good to fair task orientation; students frequently out of seat and out of room; many unsolicited call outs; many tardy students
Whole-class Leadership	Stayed in charge of all of the students, all of the time	Frequently concentrated on individuals or small groups while "turning loose" of the rest of the class	Generally maintained whole-class leadership role, but increasing student demands for individual attention interfered

Table 4

Orientation and Rule-setting

in Teacher A's Class

Day 1	Description
First Part of Class Period 21 minutes	The teacher presents the community rules and her classroom rules. She gives some rationale for each. She explains the consequences to the students: detention hall if the student accumulates three marks in a week. She also points out positive consequences of not getting detention, namely, that such students are "superstars" and that last year those students got to do something special at the end of each six weeks grading period. Most of the rules are very specific (e.g., bring materials) or forbid easily identified classes of behavior (e.g., no abusive language). Teacher also points out a scrambled sentence which she says is to be decoded. They will have such an activity to begin every day. She provides some other details about daily or weekly procedures. No uncooperative student behavior is noted. (Later in the period teacher briefly clarifies the rule for bringing materials to class and describes procedures students will use to turn in classwork.)
Day 2	
Beginning of Class 20 minutes	The teacher opens the period by taking roll. Students apparently are seated when the bell rings. There are no assigned seats yet; teacher lets students know it will be done on Wednesday. A scrambled sentence is on the board for students to work on as soon as the bell rings. After roll, the teacher reviews correct form for heading the daily assignment paper. Teacher moves about the room showing the correct form to each student. After unscrambling the sentence, students copy community rules and classroom rules on a separate sheet of paper for their notebooks.
Middle of Class Period 3 minutes	Teacher initiates discussion of a rule which students have copied but which was not discussed the first day: the teacher's policy for students leaving class for restroom or water fountain breaks. Teacher explains the rationale for her rather strict policy.

Table 4-Continued

Day 4	Description
Beginning of Class 13 minutes	The teacher reminds students how they are to begin the period: They are to get out a piece of paper, head it, and unscramble a sentence the teacher has written on the chalk board. While the students are thus occupied, the teacher takes the roll. The teacher has pupils write on their paper the names of 10 objects they can spell. She gives prompts to get them started. The task is easy and students are encouraged by the teacher. During the seatwork activity, the teacher reviews room and school rules, and also reminds students of procedures. "Marks" are mentioned as the negative consequence for failing to observe rules. (Later in the period the 10 spelling words are used in a class activity.
Day 6	
First Part of Class period 13 minutes	The teacher's explanation of a diagnostic spelling test students will take is thorough and responsive to the student's questions. During the explanation, an interruption occurs as a student comes in looking for a book. The teacher handles this without incident. The teacher also uses the time to review several other procedures and rules. She assigns a "mark" to a student who failed to bring a pen. Reasons for procedures are reviewed.
Day 10	
Beginning of Class 19 minutes	Students head their papers and unscramble the sentence on the board. The teacher organizes the class for spelling groups. She provides specific information about what the activity will involve, both in the way of what the teacher will be doing, and what is expected of the students. She reviews when the spelling books are to be brought, and requires careful attention from the class. Three groups are formed. Teacher tells students that if they do not work quietly in their group then the seatwork will become a homework assignment.

accounted, then, for almost one-third of the time spent in class during those five days.

The scope of rules and procedures presented by the three teachers was also compared. Teacher A's rules and procedures were comprehensive, covering most areas of classroom behavior. Both negative and positive consequences were discussed. In Teacher B's class, in contrast, no policy was stated for social talk among students, call outs, dismissal, makeup work, or students leaving their seats or the room. This teacher was not specific about consequences. Teacher C's presentation of rules and procedures the first day was thorough except for lack of discussion of policies or procedures for leaving the room during class. She spent more time than the others discussing school-wide procedures and otherwise helping students get oriented to the school, addressing their concerns about lockers, extracurricular activities and office procedures.

2. Consistent enforcement and feedback. Teacher A was generally consistent in desisting any off-task behavior in her room. She assigned a demerit for a student's failure to bring a pen, and publicly reviewed reasons for some rules and procedures. She sometimes ignored inappropriate student behavior (such as talk during seatwork) when it was short in duration and did not appear to distract the class. She did not ignore obvious violations of class or community rules.

Teacher B, on the other hand, ignored a lot: constant social talk, call outs, inappropriate student comments, cheating, students out of seats, paper throwing, and students not working on an assignment. She seemed to be unaware of some misbehavior. At other times she reprimanded and threatened students, but seldom followed through. She

was inconsistent in her response to student call outs. She sometimes responded positively, sometimes negatively.

Narratives of Teacher C's class indicate that lack of enforcement was Teacher C's weak point. Even in the first week of school she did not enforce announced rules concerning tardiness, called out questions by students, use of the pencil sharpener, and so on. She ignored increasing amounts of inappropriate behavior, cheating, and some irrelevant call outs or complaints. She sometimes desisted inappropriate behavior, but did not punish it. She did not ignore nonworkers or students who were out of their seats and distracting others. She did enforce her dismissal procedures and supply requirements.

3. Clarity. Both Teacher A and Teacher C presented directions and instruction clearly, in logical, step-by-step sequences, and with the appropriate vocabulary level for their students. Little confusion was noted in their classes. During the first weeks, Teacher C used the overhead projector effectively, demonstrating virtually every task she assigned to the students. In Teacher B's class, a lot of student confusion was noted. She very seldom used any visual aids to help students follow her directions or instruction.

4. Knowledge and understanding of students. Teacher A and Teacher C seemed to have good understanding of their students' abilities, interests, and background. Observers commented on Teacher A's awareness of students' attention spans and her use of a variety of different activities each period. Both Teacher A and Teacher C avoided difficult or complex class assignments the first week. Their students were successful and very involved.

Teacher B often seemed unaware of the very low academic level of her class. Students were overtly frustrated by too-difficult assignments, including the task to which the entire second day of class was devoted. This teacher expected students to take lecture notes with no assistance. Very few students could answer her questions in class discussion.

5. Students' accountability for their work. In Teacher A's class a fairly high level of student accountability was established early. Students turned in everything they did in class in a folder marked with their name and stored in a box for the class, or the teacher collected all of the papers during class.

Teacher C stressed accountability for work even more. She collected all papers and gave students academic feedback frequently during the first three weeks. She assigned and collected homework during the second week, announcing a 5-point penalty for late work. She monitored, encouraged, and helped students as they did seatwork, and she called on all students to participate during class recitation.

In Teacher B's class students were encouraged but not required to finish classwork at home. Much avoidance of work was noted, particularly during seatwork assignments which students did not understand or could not do. Teacher B did not usually pick up or monitor classwork in any systematic way.

6. Time use and class routines. Teacher A's and Teacher C's classes seldom had deadtime, in which students were simply socializing or waiting for the bell. In contrast, the pattern which Teacher B began on the first day (when she allowed students 16 minutes of free time to

visit) continued in following weeks. Teacher B typically allowed 5 to 10 minutes of free time at the end of each class.

Teacher A established a beginning-of-class routine which effectively engaged and settled students. Teacher C made no effort to establish such a routine with which to start class. She did, however, consistently use a dismissal routine at the end of class. Teacher B used a simple routine at the beginning of class: Students were to note the day's assignment written on the board as they entered, pick up needed texts or supplies from a front table, and get ready to begin work. Unfortunately, Teacher B did not actually require all students to comply with this routine, and it was never really established as a routine that all or even most of the class participated in. Teacher B had no dismissal routine, but allowed students to run out at the bell.

7. Standard for students' behavior. Teacher A allowed a very low level of student talk during seatwork. Students were usually quiet and on-task. Students stayed in their assigned seats during class. The teacher established a firm policy against students leaving the room except in real and infrequent emergencies. During seatwork students raised their hands for help. During class discussion, the teacher consistently accepted call outs; but students calling out inappropriately was never noted as a problem in the class. Teacher A ignored a tardy student on the second day of school, but penalized a tardy student on a later day. No other tardies were noted in the first three weeks.

In Teacher B's class, students were often out of their seats during class, frequently for inappropriate reasons. No seats were assigned. Students often changed desks during class and wandered about during free

time. Students were freely permitted to leave the room during class, and they made frequent trips, even during the first day of class. They called out comments and questions freely. The teacher was inconsistent in her response to these contacts. She permitted them to talk freely during seatwork.

In Teacher C's class inappropriate behavior was very rare on the first two days of class but increased throughout the second and third weeks of class. Teacher C condoned some talk during seatwork, especially peer tutoring. As students' social talk increased, Teacher C increasingly used an ineffective "shush." Teacher C allowed students to call out answers during discussion when she did not call on a specific person. She often had to correct and remind students of the correct procedure here. Certain students called out chronically. The teacher sometimes ignored them, often corrected them, but seldom punished. Students were assigned to seats, but small problems began to arise with students socializing out of seat in connection with their frequent trips out of the room, or to the pencil sharpener or the teacher's desk.

Observers noted more persistent problems with tardiness to class in Teacher C's class than in either of the other teachers' classes. Teacher C had one or more students enter tardy every day. She seldom punished, often ignored.

8. Maintaining leadership role. A final aspect of the differences in class behavior between Teachers A, B, and C lies in the different extent to which each maintained charge of all of their students during the entire class period. Teacher A's leadership of all of her students was unflagging. When she had to do some individual student testing, she kept the class busy with seatwork, and she monitored them. When she

worked with small groups she stayed aware of the entire class. She kept class underway until the end of the period, then dismissed students.

In contrast, Teacher B often "turned her class loose," especially during free-time periods. Then she characteristically interacted with relatively few individuals. Even during instructional activities she sometimes interacted with individuals or a small group for long periods of time, relinquishing her leadership of the rest of the class.

In the first three weeks of class Teacher C stayed in charge of her class for the whole period. If there were a few minutes left at the end of the period, Teacher C used the time to discuss matters of student concern with the class as a whole. She encouraged students to participate in extracurricular activities; she answered questions and gave advice; or she led any informal discussion which included the whole class.

The Rest of the Year

We believe that the above-described differences in classroom management and organization in the first three weeks of class go a long way toward accounting for the different levels of success achieved by Teachers A, B, and C as shown by process and product measures used in the JHCOS. We studied narratives of classes held later in the year to find out how the teachers maintained the class climate they had established at the beginning of the year.

At the end of the first three weeks, Teacher A had established a high level of student cooperation, appropriate behavior, and task orientation in her class. Classroom narratives later in the year showed that she was able to maintain these high levels into mid-year, at least, and probably (based on figures for her other section) through the end of

the school year. She continued to use the same teaching and classroom management strategies she used at the beginning of the year. Her students achieved a great deal and had positive attitudes toward her class.

Teacher B's class, on the other hand, was from the first week handicapped by high levels of inappropriate and disruptive behavior, poor task orientation, student confusion and frustration, and wasted class time. Observations later in the year showed little change in teacher's or students' behavior, except for some abatement of disruptive behavior from a few individual students at mid-year. For the most part the classroom climate established in the first weeks of class remained the norm for the year. While neither student achievement nor student attitudes were particularly low, class scores on both of these end-of-year measures were lower than in either of the other two teachers' classes.

Teacher C differed from the other teachers in that process measures and narrative descriptions of her class indicated that, after what seemed in most ways a very good beginning, student behavior and task orientation in her class deteriorated significantly after the first three weeks. While her students achieved at expected levels and had very positive attitudes toward her and her class, discipline problems put great demands on this teacher's time and energy, despite a seemingly good beginning of the year. This was an uncommon pattern among all of the 51 teachers in the JHCOS. We went back to the narratives to answer the question, "What happened to Teacher C?"

Narrative analysis pointed to at least two factors related to Teacher C's growing problems. The first factor could be seen in the

first three weeks and has already been discussed. Teacher C did not consistently enforce rules and standards of conduct in her class. On the first day she presented several rules which apparently she did not really want to enforce or did not believe were enforceable. (None of these rules were in fact unreasonable or unenforceable in that school setting. They were in fact less strict than the rules which Teacher A enforced in her class.) During the first three weeks, Teacher C's response to students' inappropriate or disruptive behavior was very seldom to punish. She relied heavily on simple corrections, mild reprimands, shushing noises, cajolery, and academic encouragement or assistance. When discipline problems escalated, she did punish some students with detention or other measures, but she was too inconsistent and too late.

One other factor appeared to be related to the changes in Teacher C's class. During the first three weeks, she used a lot of whole-class presentation and recitation. She frequently used an overhead projector in leading students through work before they began seatwork. There was wide participation in these activities, and most students could do the subsequent seatwork without much individual help from the teacher. After the first weeks, however, Teacher C's class spent less time in whole-class presentation and recitation and more time in seatwork. Students demanded increasing amounts of individual help from the teacher. Soon the teacher was spending almost all of her time helping individuals at their seats, while others waited idly and impatiently for her help. The teacher was thus less able to monitor and lead the whole class and stop inappropriate behavior before it got out of hand. From the teacher's point of view, this change in class format

may have been unavoidable. After the easy review activities of the first two weeks, students worked increasingly at different levels. The teacher increased her use of grouping and individualized instruction. Unfortunately she had not first established a classroom climate which would allow small group or individualized instruction to proceed smoothly.

At least two things, then, might account for the negative changes in Teacher C's classroom after a good first week or two: poor enforcement of rules and behavior standards and long seatwork periods with constant demands for individual assistance from the teacher.

Conclusions

The classrooms of Teachers A, B, and C were chosen to illustrate widely varying classroom management styles, strategies, and levels of success within a single, low SES junior high. The purpose of this paper has not been to generalize or present prescriptions for success in a low SES setting. It should be noted, however, that patterns of teachers' and students' behaviors seen in Classes A, B, and C were congruent with overall findings in the Junior High Classroom Organization Study. When a variety of process and product measures were used to identify the most effective and least effective teachers in the JHCOS sample, the groups were found to differ on the eight aspects of classroom management and organization discussed above and summarized in Table 3: teaching rules and procedures, enforcement and feedback, instructional clarity, teacher's knowledge of students, accountability for work, class time use, behavior standards, and maintenance of whole-class leadership.

Our observations of Teachers A, B, and C also support much of the findings from Moskowitz and Hayman's study of success strategies in an

inner city junior high (1976). What teachers do to establish a productive classroom climate and to orient students in the first few days of school is, indeed, an important determinant of classroom management and teaching success in junior high school. On the other hand, as the experiences of Teacher C illustrate, a good beginning is not sufficient. Without continuing, consistent enforcement of the rules and behavior standards set in the first days, a productive classroom climate may deteriorate rapidly.

Reference Notes

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